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The Shape of Things

REPRESENTATIVE MARCANTONIO HAS BEEN given a chance to say, with more plausibility than accuracy, that both major parties want a Fair Employment Practices Commission "as an issue, not as a law." The truth is that there are those in both parties who want exactly that and others who are determined to follow through on their campaign pledge to support the President's entire civil-rights program. The fight cuts across party lines, with Republican leaders like Clarence Brown, an Ohio Taft man, voting against releasing the bill from the Rules Committee—in order, he says, "to protect my colleagues who were absent"—and Democratic leaders like Speaker Rayburn putting on an even shabbier performance. Only a few days after he had stepped down from the rostrum to oppose restoration of autocratic power to the Rules Committee, Rayburn arrogated to himself a still less warranted power in order to sidetrack the FEPC bill. The change in rules effected a year ago provided that on two Mondays of each month any committee chairman may call up a bill that has been buried in the Rules Committee for more than twenty-one days, but of course he must first be recognized by the Speaker. Rayburn, his loyalty to Texas and the South taking precedence over loyalty to the Administration and the Democratic Party, chose to ignore Representative Lesinski, whose committee sponsored FEPC, in favor of Representative Peterson, another Southerner who was pressing for a suddenly urgent bill to give statehood to Alaska and Hawaii. It was a sorry and cynical spectacle, but before the Administration is damned along with Rayburn, two facts might be noted. Other committee chairmen ready to seek recognition withdrew at the express request of the Administration to make way for Lesinski. Second, the President was assured by Southerners of a watered down FEPC bill which he might have used as a talking point in the next campaign, but he flatly rejected all compromise and set himself against a negotiated peace. The battle for civil rights, far from being lost, has just begun.

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STEEL COMPANY EXECUTIVES WHO HAVE been invited to explain the recent rise in steel prices by Senator O'Mahoney's Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report have been painting a sad picture of their industry's woes. Benjamin F. Fairless, President of United States Steel, claimed that his corporation had not made a "fair return" on sales at any time in the last twenty years. Ben Moreell, head of the Jones and Laughlin Steel Company, declared that present prices were much too low and would have to be raised by $17 a ton to give his shareholders what he considered a "fair return"—8 per cent on their investment. In contrast to these suggestions of dire poverty we have the accounts of Bethlehem Steel for 1949, which show that despite a temporary fall in demand during the second quarter and the strike in the fourth quarter, the country's second largest steel producer gained the highest profits of its profitable career. For the whole of 1949 the company earned $99,300,000 as compared with $90,300,000 in 1948, itself a prosperous period. What is more, this sum was earned on shipments totaling 9,217,000 tons against 9,993,000 tons the previous year. In other words, the company made more money on a smaller output, which lends support to the contention of the Steelworkers' Union that the industry's costs fell last year to an extent that would have allowed it to absorb the expenses of pensions without raising prices. When steel prices were raised last December, we suggested that the real reason was a very strong demand from home consumers rather than an unbearable increase in costs. We are interested, therefore, to learn from the Federal Reserve Bulletin for January—the steel industry has preferred not to publicize the fact—that export prices were recently reduced. With devaluation cheapening European steel, foreign traffic, apparently, will "bear" less than domestic.

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THE ELECTORAL BATTLE OF BRITAIN GREW warmer last week-end when Winston Churchill let fly with the same kind of blast against Labor that backfired so badly in 1945. A week earlier, in a broadcast address on which we commented in our last issue, he had respected his lieutenants' pleas to avoid over-exuberant invective. But on January 28, speaking to a congenial audience of 500 Conservative Party stalwarts in his own constituency, he threw restraint to the winds and accused the Laborites of plotting "to obtain power over their fellow countrymen such as no British government has ever sought before." Since British voters in recent years have proved allergic to oratorical extravagance, this

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utterance undoubtedly pleased Labor headquarters and caused dismay in the Tory camp. Labor strategists appear to be encouraged also by the developing quarrel between Tories and independent Liberals—a quarrel which will be intensified by Churchill's reference to "a small group of left-wing Liberals" who are trying to show their importance by splitting votes. Tories contend that their own program is essentially a "Liberal" one and have tried hard to persuade the Liberal Party to join them in an anti-Socialist front. The so-called "National Liberals," survivors of the pre-war Chamberlain coalition, who have become almost identical with the Tories, have gladly agreed. The Liberal Party proper, however, which is making a last desperate effort to rehabilitate itself as a political force, has refused any "pact, bargain, or agreement" with the Tories and is putting forward candidates in nearly two-thirds of the 625 election districts. They hope to gain support from the independent voters, who they believe are dissatisfied with both major parties, but most observers consider that their intervention will harm the Tories rather than Labor. Churchill's anger indicates he shares that opinion.

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PERSONAL COURAGE IN HIGH PLACES IS NOT so common that it should go unrecognized and unhonored. Secretary of State Acheson's remarks concerning Alger Hiss, however unwise politically, were the product of such courage, and among those not blinded by partisan spite there can be only increased respect for him as a human being. Nothing in his comment indicated whether or not he still thought Hiss innocent. The emphasis was on the loyalty of a man to a friend in dire trouble. "Whatever the outcome of any appeal," he said, "I do not intend to turn my back on Alger Hiss." And for the edification of a Christian society that does not always take its Christianity seriously, he referred to the Gospel according to St. Matthew: "I was in prison, and ye came unto me . . . Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." Many Bible readers, in Congress and out, were shocked at hearing the Gospels cited outside a church and clamored more furiously than ever for the Secretary's head. They had already demanded his ousting on the ground of his friendship for the defendant, and freely damned both the Roosevelt and Truman administrations by association. Yet if memory serves us right, these same Congressmen were close associates of former Representatives May, Curley, and Thomas, all of whom went to jail for gross iniquities committed under the very noses of their colleagues. But perhaps the difference is that Acheson's detractors in Congress were politically prudent enough to turn their backs on their erstwhile friends and came not unto them in prison. In that lay their righteousness.

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FBI—Outside the Law?

IN HIS decision on the Coplon-Gubitchev hearings Judge Sylvester Ryan pointed out that the Federal Communications Act makes it a crime to intercept and divulge any private telephone conversation. "This is still the law," he said, and added, "It contains no exemptions as to any individual and no exception as to investigation of any particular type of crime."

Judge Ryan merely restated what was already known to everyone concerned with the recent wire-tapping hearings. None of the government men called as witnesses denied that wire-tapping was illegal. The FBI agents—most of them lawyers—understood that their activities constituted a crime. Indeed, when one witness was asked why records of wire-tapping were destroyed—a crime in itself—he replied that it was because they knew wire-tapping was illegal. Moreover, there was no pretense that it was the work of a few over-zealous individuals in the Department of Justice acting on their own responsibility. The Attorney General, the director of the FBI, and the heads of the various FBI offices, all admitted—for the first time—that wire-tapping has been officially practiced for at least a decade. A distinguished federal judge has compared this with the Director of the Mint's ordering the establishment of a counterfeiting plant. Attorney General McGrath, however, blandly announces that he intends to continue violating the law against wire-tapping.

How extensive is this practice? Mr. Hoover said that wire-tapping was being used in "only" 170 cases *on the day of his statement*. Some idea of the extent of official eavesdropping can be gained from these facts: The FBI admitted destroying 3,500 discs in the last year. More than sixty government employees concerned with wire-tapping were called before Judge Ryan, and none of the clerical or technical personnel serving these sixty were called. Hoover admitted that more than thirty wire-tap operatives were assigned to Coplon and Gubitchev. At least eighty tappers have been operating out of the New York office alone.

FBI records disclose that the telephones of at least four foreign embassies and of certain personnel of the United Nations have been tapped. Yet in whatever way America has sought to assert its influence in any part of the world, it has always stood steadfast for law and order. Our detractors can now say that ours is merely a pretended respect for law, since American law enforcers themselves openly admit violating it.

What is the "legal" justification claimed for this conduct? Here the department hides behind the late Franklin D. Roosevelt: the Attorney General and the director of the FBI refer to a ten-year-old memorandum from him. It is a matter of record that President Roosevelt—in a letter to Representative Tom Eliot on the Hobbs bill—favored legislation that would permit limited wire-tapping. But he felt that the Hobbs measure, which was being pushed by the Justice Department and J. Edgar Hoover, went too far. He wrote that he personally went along with Justice Holmes's famous dissent in the Olmstead case: "We have to choose, and for my part I think it a lesser evil that some criminals should escape than that the government should play an ignoble part."

Roosevelt undoubtedly urged Congressional sanction for wire-tapping under certain conditions, but this is different from authorizing wire-tapping, as McGrath and Hoover assert he did. Excellent evidence that he did not authorize the kind of tapping the FBI is now doing is provided by the Justice Department's refusal to publish the text of the memorandum.

In any case, no individual, not even the President, has the right to violate the law or authorize its violation. The President has the power, in time of war or national emergency, to suspend by executive order the operation of a law. But the law requires that all executive orders be published in the Federal Register except those which have "no general applicability and legal effect" or are mere departmental housekeeping orders. No order sus-

Wednesday at Eight

THERE must be something we artists can do to help you in this fight," said George Biddle at a meeting some weeks ago of the Ad Hoc Committee to Lift the Ban on *The Nation*. "After all, artists have a particular stake in freedom of inquiry." And that was the start of next Wednesday evening's art auction, whose proceeds will help the committee to continue its legal battle for restoration of *The Nation* in the New York City public schools.

Mr. Biddle, Russell Cowles, Henry Varnum Poore, William Zorach, and Archibald MacLeish, founder of the Ad Hoc Committee, then solicited contributions from America's artists. The response was overwhelming. As this issue goes to press 103 men and women have sent in a painting, drawing, etching, lithograph, or piece of sculpture, and donors will probably keep coming forward until the day of the auction. Leon Kaliski of the firm of Kaliski and Gabay has volunteered his services as auctioneer; Mrs. Clarence Day will give the use of her home as showroom. The Ad Hoc Committee is confident that among *The Nation's* thousands of readers there are many who will want to match the generosity of the artists, Mrs. Day, and Mr. Kaliski and at the same time take advantage of an opportunity to acquire a work of art. Full details about the auction will be found on our back cover.

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pending the provision of the Federal Communications Act prohibiting wire-tapping was published in the Federal Register—if such an order was ever issued. Federal Judge Simon Rifkind, in the Birnbaum case involving the State Department, decided that an unpublished executive order has no legal validity.

Wire-tapping is an invasion of a citizen's elemental right to the privacy of his home—a right deeply intrenched in Anglo-Saxon tradition and clearly stated in the Fourth Amendment. It also violates the privilege of confidence accorded since time immemorial to a client's relations with his lawyer, a patient's with his physician, and a parishioner's with his clergyman.

What redress has the American people? Theoretically the Attorney General and the director of the FBI could be indicted for breaking the law. But who would indict them? Would the Attorney General indict himself? That is the problem we face when law officers disobey the law. As for Congress, the House Appropriations Committee has been holding hearings on wire-tapping *behind closed doors*. The public may never know what has been disclosed. Former FCC Commissioner James L. Fly has asked for a copy or digest of the proceedings. His request has not been granted.

The most practical solution would be the calling of an extraordinary grand jury to examine the whole dirty business, but only the pressure of public opinion would bring this about. The press in general has shown alarming apathy, and the public, not fully informed, clings to its stereotype of the G-man as a clean-cut gang-buster, acting strictly within the law. No one denies the efficiency of federal agents in the performance of their duty as they see it, but when their zeal leads to the violation of a Constitutional guaranty, the illegal destruction of public records, perjury, and obstruction of justice, then it is time for a redefinition of duty.

The Ordeal of Alger Hiss

BY ROBERT BENDINER

I. Second-Trial Strategies

THE courtroom audience braced itself for a shock as the jury filed in shortly after the midday recess. Old Judge Goddard, looking very much like the symbolic bald eagle, had made it plain that the twelve who were to decide the fate of Alger Hiss were not coming in merely to ask for further information, as they had done twice before. By this time extremely few—among them, reportedly, the defendant himself—still expected an acquittal. The nature of the jury's several requests for additional information made that only a remote possibility. Yet when the word "guilty" was pronounced, a momentary gasp of dismay rippled through the chamber. The thought seemed suddenly to register that all that had gone before was not an absorbing stage performance, after all, but the step-by-step destruction of a life. Innocent or not of the perjury charged against him, Hiss had already paid heavily. Another hung jury, which was the outcome generally expected, would have finished his badly damaged career. But even tough-minded reporters who had all along expressed certainty of his guilt were jolted at the thought of conviction and prison for the trusted, utterly self-possessed, still youthful man who once might reasonably have aspired to be Secretary of State.

The feeling would probably have been there in any case, the natural sympathy for a man who found himself in a nightmare come true—through his own doing, the jury said, but certainly not through self-seeking or out of a criminal nature. Yet perhaps there was more than just this human reaction; there may have been, even in the most closed mind, some lingering doubt. Through two nerve-racking trials, lasting a total of fifteen weeks, Hiss had carried himself with dignity and a buoyant confidence that seemed undented by the worst blows of the prosecution. Moreover, the most telling evidence against him, strong as it was, was circumstantial. He never came near explaining it away, but for many the belief persisted that somehow, if all the truth were known, it *could* be explained away.

In part this may be blind faith in Hiss as an individual and profound distrust of his chief accuser, who admittedly perjured himself many times over, who by his own account has led a queer and twisted life, and who bears the stigma of the informer. In part it may be the wishful thinking of people who rightly fear that some of the worst elements in American life will make political capital out of the conviction and who wrongly feel that Hiss must be innocent simply because his innocence would be helpful to American liberalism.

In any case a court and jury could not be expected to take such imponderables into account. They dealt with concrete evidence—with confidential government documents conceded to have been copied on Hiss's old Woodstock typewriter, with microfilms of other such documents, and with notes written in Hiss's hand—all produced by Chambers years after he had abandoned service as an underground Communist agent. They dealt with bank withdrawals, sales slips, leases, and transfers of

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automobile ownership, and with the testimony of witnesses whose word or whose records placed individuals at given places at given times. On the basis of these outward evidences of inward purpose the jurors decided that Alger Hiss was guilty, not beyond all doubt but beyond what they, under the law, were entitled to consider a reasonable doubt.

THEORETICALLY the jurors in the second Hiss trial knew nothing of the first, which ended on July 8 with the jury hopelessly split, eight for conviction and four for acquittal; or in any event they had no opinion concerning it. The lawyers on both sides, however, knew everything about it—even, thanks to an over-zealous press, how the individual jurors reacted to major pieces of testimony. Thomas F. Murphy, Assistant United States Attorney, knew, for example, that he had blundered when he told those jurors: "If you don't believe Whittaker Chambers, then we have no case." He realized now that his chief emphasis had to be placed on the typewriter and the documents; he knew, too, that he would have to strengthen Chambers with witnesses who could directly confirm at least part of his testimony.

Alger Hiss

Claude B. Cross, the gentle, painstaking Boston attorney who succeeded Lloyd Paul Stryker as Hiss's trial lawyer, similarly learned from the first trial. It must have been plain to him that since the typewriter was so damaging a witness, he would at least have to show beyond all doubt that it had left the Hisses' possession before the copies were typed. He would have to show that someone other than Hiss could as well have stolen the original documents, that Hiss did not even have access to all the papers in question. He would have to analyze the handwritten notes and show that they were prepared for purposes other than espionage. He would have to establish the questionable mental state of Chambers, and this for two reasons: to make his testimony less credible than the first jury deemed it, and to fill the gap left by Stryker's failure to establish a believable motive for the implacable determination with which Chambers allegedly set out to destroy an innocent man.

The jury's verdict, whether one supports it or not, was the measure of how close counsel on both sides came to the goal they had set for themselves. Murphy's was, to begin with, the easier of the two tasks. In spite of his overemphasis on Chambers in the first trial, it was the typewriter and the documents that had carried most weight. His chief business, then, in the second trial was to hammer home the mere existence of these mute witnesses. From the "believe Chambers" theme he switched to "you will always come back to the documents." This was the immutable evidence, he said, "with no question of memory involved." The physical presence of the golden calf convicted the Israelites in the eyes of the Lord, and here, said Murphy, almost fondly stroking the old Woodstock, was Alger Hiss's "golden calf."

Judge Goddard was, from the first, a great deal freer than his predecessor about permitting challenged testimony, and while Murphy protested vehemently when the the court allowed two doctors to diagnose Chambers's mental state from the stand, he profited considerably from this judicial liberality. It enabled him to introduce several important witnesses who had been rejected in the first trial. The first of these was William Rosen, who, the government contended, received Hiss's old Ford roadster in 1936 as part of an arrangement described by Chambers. The purpose, Chambers said, was for Hiss to turn the car over to the Communist Party "for the use of some poor organizer." The Washington Motor Vehicle Department records show a transfer from Hiss to the Cherner Motor Company and from the company to Rosen on the same day. But the company's files strangely show no invoice. Rosen himself might have cleared up the matter, but beyond saying he had never met Hiss, he refused to answer questions on the ground of possible self-incrimination, including one as to whether or not he was a Communist in 1936. In spite of the judge's injunction to the jury to draw no inference unfavorable to Hiss from Rosen's refusal to answer questions, there is no telling how much his performance, and a similar stand by Felix Inslerman, another unwilling government witness, may have prejudiced the jurors against the defendant. But Murphy may have reason to regret this particular success. A recent dictum of the Circuit Court of Appeals suggests strongly that the calling of witnesses who are expected to claim immunity—Rosen had done the same thing before the grand jury—may be ground for reversing the verdict. This will certainly be one of the major points on appeal.

Another witness added by Murphy to his string was Hede Massing, once a Viennese actress and the wife of Gerhardt Eisler, later a Russian spy operating in Washington and New York. Some of her testimony appeared incredible, such as her going to Russia *after* she broke with the spy ring over the murder of her superior by Communist agents in Europe. She and her husband,

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she said, went to Moscow to see for themselves whether affairs in the Soviet Union were as bad as they had heard. Nevertheless, her testimony, directly confirming Chambers, must have been damaging. She met Hiss, she said, in 1935 at the apartment of Noel Field, and they wrangled coyly over which of their underground Communist "apparatuses" was to have the services of Mr. Field, who, incidentally, disappeared mysteriously in Eastern Europe last summer and has not been heard of since.

Whittaker Chambers and his wife were again the principal government witnesses, of course, and their richly detailed stories, replete with incidents of intimate friendship with the Hisses, vivid descriptions of the various Hiss homes, accounts of visits back and forth and of joint pleasure expeditions, and, above all, the details of Hiss's passing of State Department papers to Chambers for eventual transmission to Moscow—all are familiar enough to most readers to warrant no repetition here.* But two additional witnesses added unquestionably to the strength of the government's case. Dr. Margaret Nicholson, the Hisses' pediatrician, brought office records to show they were in Washington when Chambers said they were and when they said they were not, even though their lawyers had consulted Dr. Nicholson first and received the same information.

Much more damaging was Edith Murray, the Chamberses' maid, who testified that Mrs. Hiss visited their apartment in Baltimore no fewer than four times, that she stayed overnight on one occasion, as Mrs. Chambers had earlier testified, and that Mr. Hiss appeared there once. The defense was unable to shake her story, and Cross could only contend in his summation that she had been exposed to a process of "suggestion" on the part of FBI agents and of her former employer, to whom they took her shortly before the trial.

IT NEED hardly be said that I am attempting here no summary of testimony that runs to well over a million words, the equivalent of at least a half-dozen full-length novels. The purpose has been merely to suggest the extent to which the government built on the case it had already made in the first trial to show that Alger Hiss committed perjury when he told a grand jury that he had never given government papers to Chambers or so much as seen him after January 1, 1937.

The defense, as I have pointed out, had a harder row to hoe than the government. Mr. Cross worked assiduously and with a dogged concentration on fine points that for days on end smothered the human drama in stifling detail. He succeeded in showing that several of the documents were not routed through the office of Assistant Secretary of State Francis B. Sayre, Hiss's superior. He got from Chambers the concession, for the first time, that one of the papers might not have been delivered to him by Hiss at all but by Harry Dexter White, a high official of the Treasury. Cross demonstrated, moreover, that almost all the documents were routed through the office of the Far Eastern Division, and he contended that those that were not transmitted by Julian Wadleigh, who in both trials admitted to having passed papers to Chambers, were probably delivered by a confederate in the Far Eastern Division. There was no hint, however, that such a confederate had been revealed in the numerous investigations that have been carried on, and the Wadleigh theory remained as vulnerable as it had in the first trial. Having confessed freely to delivering some papers to Chambers and ruined himself forever in consequence, what had Wadleigh to gain by swearing that he did not deliver the particular papers in evidence, some of which, moreover, were dated during a period when he was out of the country?

Cross made out a more impressive case, it seemed to me, concerning the four handwritten notes. Hiss did not contend, as has been widely reported, that these were intended as memoranda for the use of Mr. Sayre, but rather that they were notes to himself, on the basis of which he would make oral reports to his superior. Apparently written in haste and characterized by interlinear elaborations, they were, on reflection, an odd set of communications for a spy to pass on, not to mention the wholly unnecessary risk involved in a government official's using his own handwriting for such a purpose. On the other hand, far from indicating a special interest in the Rubens case, which was the subject of one of the notes, Sayre had originally told the grand jury that he had "no explanation" for even having been on the distribution list to receive the cable of which Hiss's memorandum was an almost verbatim copy.

Perhaps Cross's greatest advance over Stryker was the effectiveness of his assault on the credibility of Chambers. Stryker had worked on this with fierce concentration and melodramatic thunder, but he had been blocked by the judge's refusal to allow Dr. Carl Binger to testify that Chambers was a "psychopathic personality." Judge Goddard decided to permit the testimony of Dr. Binger and also of Dr. Henry A. Murray, thereby establishing a precedent for the federal courts and raising grave questions of psychiatry and law which will have to be explored in another article. For the moment it is perhaps enough to say that the two doctors made it less likely than ever that a jury would condemn a man on the sole testimony of Whittaker Chambers.

Aside from the diagnosis of "psychopathic personality," among the symptoms of which, the doctors said, were repetitive lying and false accusation, the defense broke down extensive though peripheral parts of Cham-

*Much of this testimony was discussed in the writer's three articles on the first trial, which appeared in *The Nation* of June 11, June 25, and July 16, 1949.

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bers's testimony, particularly the story of the Peterborough trip with the Hisses and the details of the alleged meeting between Chambers, Hiss, and the mysterious Russian agent, Colonel Bykov. But in the end the jurors came back, as Murphy had said they would, to the documents and to the "golden calf." Cross had not only failed to prove that the fateful Woodstock had been disposed of before January, 1938, but he had given the jury no credible explanation of how Chambers could have got to the typewriter in the Catlett home, presumably not once but many times, since the originals always had to be returned the day after they were stolen; and of how, all unknown to its many occupants, he could have copied off the documents, leaving the machine with the Catletts, who subsequently gave it away to relatives. Yet either this is what happened, according to the defense theory, or Chambers, whom the Catlett boys swore they had never seen, stole into their house, made off with the machine, and then carefully returned it three months later, when Sergeant Roulhac, who lived with the family, maintains that he saw it. Although a new acquisition, it apparently never was missed.

UNDERLYING this hypothesis is the belief that Chambers long ago plotted to destroy Hiss, for some reason which the defense chose not even to speculate on in court, and that through the years he spun the web. He made it his business to find out what the interior of the Hiss homes looked like, down to the last detail, and communicated the facts to his wife for future testimony; he learned the dates and amounts of Hiss's withdrawals from the bank, noted the dates of his vacations, and so forth. But when he went to A. A. Berle in the State Department in 1940 to warn him that Hiss was a Communist, he told him nothing of the espionage, though the statute of limitations did not then protect Hiss and he would surely have been ruined. Subsequently Chambers even perjured himself—in effect in Hiss's favor, whatever his purpose—by at first denying both to the House Committee on Un-American Activities and to the New York grand jury that any espionage was involved in the Communist activity which he attributed to Hiss. When he went to Berle, was he waiting for the remote possibility that by the merest chance Hiss himself would one day commit perjury, whereupon Chambers would pounce on him with the long stored-up evidence? If on the other hand, the plot dates back only to 1948, when Hiss brought suit against him for libel, the theory that Chambers committed "forgery by typewriter" ten years earlier is left without any calculable motive.

This is where the role of the psychiatrists comes in, and their contribution to the case I must leave for a second article, along with the political implications of an affair which Mr. Cross rightly said "has aroused more interest than any other case in decades."

No Comment

MAN is floundering today because he has lost his ultimate orientations. . . . He has run down a thousand blind alleys because his university training has conditioned him to live without God as a transcendent focal point for his thought and activities. . . .

[Liberalism's] glib versatility produces both on performer and spectator the same giddy effect as the spectacle of a tight-rope equilibrist. It is good theater, good politics, but utter irresponsibility in the face of a crisis. As things are today man must make a decision. The university often does little more than prepare him to sidestep it—gracefully. The Kremlin could ask for nothing more. . . .

With authority gone, a specious form of liberty enters the scene. "Liberty" . . . is today's major plague. As practiced, it consists in man's right to do anything in accord with his opinion. That right, he is taught at the university, is his supreme prerogative as the citizen of a democracy. It is, in fact, indistinguishable from license. True liberty, properly defined, is man's potentiality to perform a good action. The full good, however, he cannot know for certain without the controlling assistance of Revelation. . . .

It is not surprising . . . to note that states have found it necessary to control opinion exactly as they found it necessary to control economics. . . . Despite the dramatic but puerile dictum of Helvetius there is nothing essentially sacred about an opinion. . . . At best, opinions are blind gropings for the truth; at worst, they are the stubborn vaporings of ignorance. . . . The state's opinion, then, is just as good, just as sacred, and just as accurate as the individual citizen's opinion or the majority opinion of all the citizens. . . . With man's normal aspirations reduced by university training from a thirst for truth to the spawning of opinions, there is every reason to expect that the state for its own preservation will be forced to establish an opinion-control bureau. . . .

The universities themselves are reexamining their fabulous formula of academic freedom: that Protean pulpit whereon may mount atheist and Catholic; fellow-traveler and capitalist; agnostic, liberal, dogmatist, and even an occasional teacher. It is fondly assumed that the untrained nostril of the student will unfailingly detect the sweet odor of truth from this miasma of conflicting opinion belched at him by his instructors. The formula, with all the good faith, tolerance, and urbanity in the world, is impossible. . . . No contradictory parts can ever add up to a whole. Truth is one, simple, and integral. Hegel's dialectical zigzag of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis may appeal to a ballet master or the Radio City Rockettes, but it is so much philosophical balderdash to one who has seen the promised land of total reality.—*From an address delivered last spring, on the occasion of his inauguration as president of Georgetown University, by the Very Reverend Hunter Guthrie, S. J.; printed in the appendix to the* Congressional Record, *May 2, 1949, at the request of Attorney General (then Senator) J. Howard McGrath.*

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Red Star Over Asia

BY ANDREW ROTH

New Delhi, January

WHAT will the Chinese Communists do in Southeast Asia? Ever since the fall of Mukden in 1948 this question has haunted the people of the area. With Chinese Communist regulars appearing on the borders of Indo-China and Burma, it has become of burning interest to countries far beyond Southeast Asia. Imports of rice from Burma and Siam make up the considerable deficit of India, Ceylon, and East Pakistan, and their absence would have a very unsteadying influence. Britain and Holland have depended on the rubber, tin, and other products exported to the United States from Malaya, Borneo, and Indonesia for a considerable portion of their dollar credits. The Western bloc would consider the military loss of Southeast Asia comparable to loss of control of the Mediterranean. The Indian Ocean has historically been the preserve of the British navy, and penetration of the Communists to its shores at even one point would radically change the strategic picture in the East. The balance of world forces would be almost as seriously affected as it was by the Communist victory in China.

If the Communists stay out of Southeast Asia, it will not be for want of opportunity or allies. Every country in the area has a considerable Chinese minority and a local Communist Party. (Of the 160,000,000 inhabitants of the whole region fully 10,000,000 are Chinese.) In the main, artisans, professional people, and petty capitalists make up the Chinese minorities. Being comparatively prosperous, they are not what is usually called good material for Communist agitators, but they have strong sentimental ties to China, and as they become convinced that the Communists will make China a world power they are certain to go over to them in large numbers. Several Chinese-language papers in Southeast Asia have already changed their line. The local Communist parties will of course support the Chinese Communists. They are nowhere very strong; in most countries they lost considerable popular support when they staged their uprisings in 1948 in accordance with the 1947 Cominform resolution and the example of the Indian putschists. But the reflected glory of the Communist victories in China will help them to make a comeback.

Plenty of opportunity for the Chinese Communists is provided by the widespread political unrest. Scarcely a country has the basic elements of stability—a popular, deeply rooted government, a functioning administration, a nation-wide transportation system, or a capable army. Burma stands out as most vulnerable. The ineffective and unpopular Burmese government controls no more than 50 per cent of the area of the country and 25 per cent of its population and has only 20,000 half-trained troops. It cannot possibly protect its thousand-mile Chinese border. In Indo-China the government and armed forces of Ho Chi Minh, the Viet Namese leader, hold over three-quarters of the country. French efforts to arouse loyalty to Bao Dai as the hereditary ruler have scarcely dented the overwhelming popular support for the coalition government of Ho Chi Minh. Now that Ho's government has been recognized by Peking, his position will be even stronger.

On the surface Siam seems relatively stable. Its 18,000,000 people have enough to eat and are not interested in politics. Among the 3,000,000 Chinese are some 3,000 Communists, who have also so far remained inactive. The repeated military coups and counter-coups of the last three years have been an expression of the conflict between the army-backed clique of Marshal Pibul Songgram, now in power, and the navy-backed clique of the anti-Japanese leader and former Premier, Pridi Phanomuong. Despite allegations to the contrary, there has been no evidence of intervention from outside. British and American diplomats recognize, however, that the Chinese Communists have an ideal opportunity to control the country by aiding the socialistic, part-Chinese Pridi against the rightist, anti-Chinese Pibul.

In the Malayan jungles the British authorities have set as the objective of the present campaign the total eradication of the Chinese Communist guerrillas, but they have slight chance of attaining it. Although some scores of the guerrillas have recently surrendered in response to an extensive leaflet campaign, those that remain will inevitably be encouraged to hold out by the victories of the Communists in China and the promises of their own leaders that help is coming. Fully 43 per cent of the people of Malaya and Singapore are of Chinese origin, and most of them feel they have been treated as second-class citizens. The Chinese Communists have indicated their understanding of the Malayan situation by naming a prominent Malayan Chinese, Ten Ka-kee, to a high post in their councils in Peking.

Indonesian leaders, their hands full with the tremendous task of organizing a new nation in their far-flung, war-torn archipelago, look fearfully over their shoulders toward Communist China. The Indonesian Communists lost many of their leaders and much of

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their following in the premature insurrection of September, 1948, but they may be able to rebuild their organization by advocating extreme nationalism and attacking the government for "selling out" to Holland and the United States.

The superficial ease and surfeit of consumer goods in the Philippines obscure fundamentally unstable conditions. The islands' colonial economy is almost completely dependent upon the sale of sugar, copra, and Manila hemp in the American market. Copra sales are already affected by the currency devaluation in Indonesia. The discontent of the tenant farmers in Central Luzon provides support for the Communist leader, Luis Taruc, who keeps between five and ten thousand Hukbalahap guerrillas in the field despite intensive efforts by the Philippine constabulary. There is widespread dissatisfaction with the Quirino regime's corruption, its slavish attitude toward the United States, and its failure to attack such a basic problem as agrarian reform. A real depression would make the Philippines ripe for revolutionary agitation.

LAST November the Asian labor federations affiliated with the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions gathered in Peking and set up a permanent secretariat to coordinate the activities of the unions. The meeting was keynoted by Liu Shao-chi, Vice-President of the People's Republic, whom informed observers consider the leader of the most militant wing of the Communist Politburo. Liu declared that "armed struggle" by Chinese-style "national liberation armies" was essential to the achievement of "national independence and the establishment of a people's democracy" in many South Asian countries. The crucial question is whether this speech merely laid down a line for South Asian Communists or indicated that the Peking government would help them to follow it. British experts think that the Chinese Communists, while ready to seize any easy opportunity to fish in troubled waters, will restrict themselves in the main to political agitation. Some American experts want to take measures against armed infiltration.

The consolidation of their position at home will be the first task of the Chinese Communists. Tibet is still out of their grasp, and it will be months before they can mount an attack on Formosa. China has not been completely unified for a century, and administrative difficulties are almost insuperable. The economy has been drained and distorted by a dozen years of destructive civil and international war. Years will be needed just to heal the wounds, to say nothing of erecting the modern industrial state which the Communists have promised.

These internal problems may curb any temptation felt by Mao Tse-tung to go adventuring abroad but will not necessarily do so. The Russians, one recalls, were much more prone to sallies into Western Europe in 1918-23, when they were internally weak, than in the '30's, when they were much stronger. However, during the earlier period the Bolsheviks were operating partly on the assumption that a Communist Russia could not stand alone. Today Communist China knows it is not alone.

About the long-range intentions of the Chinese Communists there can be no doubt. They are revolutionaries who feel they have the proper prescription for the ills of the Asian masses. They have openly called upon other peoples to follow their example and have promised them help. And they have tagged non-Marxist nationalists like Soekarno, Thakin Nu, and Nehru as the "feeble-minded bourgeoisie of South Asia" and "collaborators with Western imperialism." They have been at the receiving end of American-supplied bombs and bullets for so long that they tend to consider anyone who is not actively anti-American an "American stooge" and therefore virtually an enemy.

How far the Chinese Communists will go to aid the armed struggle against the Anglo-Americans and their allies in South Asia depends on their estimate of the likelihood of a third world war. If they think such a war is imminent they will undoubtedly fight to

LOOKING BACKWARD

Twenty-five Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE Russian government may police its citizens along thorny ways of civic discipline and labor, but in one field it is liberal to the point of extreme individualism. Personal relations are, by law, free. . . . People may register their marriage or live together as married persons without such formality; they retain their own names unless they deliberately assume a common name, which may be that of either partner; citizenship is not affected by marriage. Property is held jointly whether the marriage is registered or not, but only a disabled man or woman may claim support from the other party to the marriage. Children, however, must be supported; they must be properly and kindly treated; their own individuality must not be invaded —otherwise the state will take them from their parents and provide other guardians. In their behalf the Russian law does lay hands on individual freedom. An unmarried woman who is to bear a child may, wherever it is possible, establish the paternity of the child and secure the father's share in its support; no child is "illegitimate." This law seems to offer some real hope of decent, unimpeded human relations. . . . All who can must work, and the old, the ill, and the children must be taken care of; apart from this, men and women in their personal relations are trusted with the precious gifts of freedom and privacy.—*February 4, 1925.*

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deny Southeast Asia's resources to the Anglo-Americans. They may be stimulated to early action if they become convinced that the United States is planning military intervention in order to prepare bases against them. Some American conservatives and military leaders have been demanding not only that the United States use its armed forces to preserve Kuomintang rule in Formosa and Hainan but that it give "Greek-style" aid to Burma, Siam, and the French-sponsored regime in Indo-China. Peking would probably consider such aid to be more than enough justification for open help to the "national liberation armies" in those countries.

If the United States is guilty of no "imperialist aggression" in Asia, Peking may act cautiously. The new government is contending with rice and petroleum deficits which have an unsettling effect on Shanghai and southeastern China. The export of both these products is controlled by the governments of neighboring countries, and Peking may go slow until it has got recognition and an assurance that its wants will be supplied.

The Peking government is also anxious for recognition so that it can establish open contact with overseas Chinese communities. It wants to prevent the Kuomintang from using these communities as bases for "counter-revolutionary activities," and hopes to induce trained Chinese to return and help rehabilitate the country.

Actually a moderate policy in Southeast Asia would probably serve the Chinese Communists better than a militant one. The Chinese minorities throughout the area are regarded with suspicion and even hated by the native majorities. In Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia the indigenous Communists are also distrusted because their 1948 insurrections were inspired by foreign propaganda. If the minorities undertake to act as Communist China's "fifth column"—as distinct from an indigenous movement smiled upon by the Peking government—the full force of Southeast Asia's nationalism will be concentrated against them.

Probably the wisest course for the Chinese Communists would be to reply upon the force of their example. Many non-Communist eyes are already focused on them, wondering what they will be able to accomplish. The new states of Southeast Asia are industrially backward, troubled by agrarian unrest, and heavily dependent on the West. India's and Pakistan's efforts to solve similar problems seem unbearably slow. If the Chinese Communists are able rapidly to overcome their economic backwardness and build a modern state, the ripples from Peking may engulf Southeast Asia.

CAN THE LEFT MAKE A COME-BACK?

II. Europe's Crisis: the Left's Chance

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

TO ANSWER the question whether the left in Europe has any chance of recovering the strength lost since the Liberation it is first necessary to examine the general political and economic situation. If present conditions were ideal in Western Europe, no progress could be expected. If the Third Force were functioning successfully, the left's return to power would be indefinitely delayed. A program of high wages, social security, housing, and public health, such as is in force in Sweden, would have allayed, at least temporarily, the widespread unrest. Relaxation of international tension and removal of the threat of war from a Europe which has absolutely no intention of fighting again would also have made a change less urgent. Even the dependence on America would be less disturbing to European radicals if it were not tied so tightly to the policy of cold war.

From the point of view of production Europe has made an impressive advance since the end of the war. In France, production as a whole has reached a figure halfway between that of 1938, which was a bad year, and 1929, the best year in the last two decades. The franc, after falling steadily for years, has been stabilized and the black-market dealers in American money around the American Express office and the Grand Hotel in Paris have practically disappeared. Foreign tourists in France in 1949 spent 55,000,000,000 francs, not a negligible sum.

But this cheerful picture has a darker side. Trade with the dollar countries still shows a considerable deficit, which will increase as Marshall Plan aid peters out. Already the proximity of 1952 casts its shadow on the French economy as it does on that of all Western Europe. When the Bretton Woods accords and the E. R. P. no longer operate, the European nations will have to balance their accounts with their own means. One has only to read the Intermediary Report on the European Recovery Program to realize that Western Europe will not be able to export enough by 1952 to assure its population an adequate standard of living.

Even today difficulties are accumulating. Belgium has been held up to other European countries as an example of efficient reorganization and recovery. But recent reports reveal unmistakable signs of trouble to come.

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Its factories, which have been running full blast, are beginning to slow down. Growing competition from neighboring countries and restricted trade outlets in Eastern Europe—for which the cold war is also responsible—have created a pinch that is causing much concern for the future. A visible result is the growing unemployment; according to a recent report of the League of Belgian Industries, a quarter of a million men were out of work at the beginning of 1950. This picture is repeated, in sharper outline, in every Western European nation. And everywhere the prospect is made more grim, as 1952 approaches, by the mounting production of German industry, which must compete in the same limited markets. Yet new figures showing 11 per cent unemployment in western Germany indicate that even greater output is necessary if stability is to be achieved.

OF ALL the economic difficulties that confront these countries, the one that has the most serious political effect is the disparity between wages and the cost of living. The drop in prices that began in France in midsummer has not continued. In Belgium everyone talks about the *vie chère*; the railroads have suddenly increased their rates 10 per cent, and street-car fares and postal rates have also risen. In Italy, of course, the gap is wider and unrest consequently more acute. Two million workers are unemployed, and the employed workers—not according to the Communist *Unità* but to a United States embassy report—earn scarcely enough to cover the barest essentials of life.

The struggle for higher wages in France will continue, since the payment of the bonus of 3,000 francs ($8.40) for January, which the Socialists extracted from Bidault by threatening to withdraw from the Cabinet, by no means settles the question. It was the need for increased wages which led the Force Ouvrière—the Socialist labor federation—to unleash the strikes of last fall. This was the first time since the split of two years ago that the Socialist-controlled unions and the Communist-controlled unions had acted together. The strikes were initiated by the F. O. and preceded by an aggressive campaign in the Socialist press. The leaders were known anti-Communists like Jouhaux, Neumeyer, and Rose Etienne. Jouhaux warned the Socialist ministers privately that, no matter what the risk to the stability of the government, the F. O. would no longer allow the whole burden of France's recovery to be borne by the workers.

There is, in fact, deep resentment among the Socialist unions and other elements of the non-Communist left because the general rise in production has not been accompanied by a comparable rise in wages. Bitterness has also been engendered by the statement of American administrators of the Marshall plan that an end should now be made to European experiments in nationalization and a planned economy. It is generally assumed that when official American aid stops in 1952, private American investments will take its place, with intensified opposition to socialism in Europe.

Encouraged by its success in blocking the demand for higher wages, French capitalism is making the lockout fashionable again. The lockout is the traditional weapon for purging factories of "undesirable" elements. Its use represents a last slap in the face for the Liberation. In itself it is enough to draw together workers of different ideologies; even the Catholic unions have bitterly condemned it.

The anti-labor acts of French industry are paralleled by the reactionary course of the government, which will finally lead to the expulsion of the Socialists from the Cabinet. None will be spared, not even those who have been most strongly anti-Communist and have denounced the strikes. This was made very clear in the recent ministerial crisis. When President Auriol asked Jules Moch, Minister of the Interior, to form a Cabinet, all the other parties of the government coalition combined to keep a Socialist from becoming Premier. During the debate Paul Reynaud emphasized that with socialism in retreat throughout the world it was hardly opportune for France to place a Socialist at the head of its government.

The Third Force is thus at last revealing its inevitable character. It is simply a regrouping of the middle classes the better to play their natural role of buffer in the class struggle. The Socialists have been tolerated in it only because their aid was useful in mollifying the workers. They will be thrown out everywhere as soon as reaction feels firm in the saddle. The situation is well illustrated by the fact that the original Socialist pillar of the Third Force, the Belgian Paul-Henri Spaak, is now, for the first time, out of the government and evidently believes he will remain out; he was preparing to accept the directorship of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation if it was offered him. In Italy the Saragat group is represented in De Gasperi's new Cabinet, but its influence has been greatly diminished by the recent defections from the party.

NOWHERE in Western Europe is the non-Communist left allowed to share in the direction of affairs of state; it can neither improve the condition of the workers nor influence general policy. I do not speak of the Communists, since the door to their participation in any European government is closed and padlocked by the Marshall Plan and the private investments that will probably succeed it. One of the most able spokesmen of the independent left, Claude Bourdet, editor of *Combat*, etched this picture of France at the year's end:

> Leniency toward the economic collaborators, the Vichy press, and Pétain's high officials; leniency toward those

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who derisively broke their promises to lower prices and toward the industrialists and business men who raised them; liquidation of courageous ministers; severity, even brutality, toward workers and civil servants every time they protest against the steady worsening of their condition; reconstitution of trusts; the nationalizations nullified wherever possible; the Monnet Plan deprived of content—all these features of our domestic policy show that the forces of selfishness, of stupidity, and of wealth have regained their old ascendancy; and their victory has been ratified by those who, at the Liberation, promised to fight against them.

The left has not even the satisfaction of seeing the excessive pretensions of the Vatican opposed and the role of the Roman Catholic church restricted to its proper religious functions, as was the policy of the old French radicals and the Italian heirs of Mazzini. The deepest feelings of leftists throughout Europe are outraged by the attempts of American politicians to include Franco in the Atlantic Pact. (Even the Saragat group of Socialists, always inclined to say yes to Washington, reiterated the chant, "Franco, no!" at its recent congress.) Above all, the left views with alarm and indignation the degree to which the great adversary, Germany, is favored in European recovery plans and will apparently soon be authorized to rearm. The rapid return to power of Nazi and near-Nazi leaders, both in industry and government, is reported day after day in the radical press as evidence that Germany's restored strength will be at the disposal of the most dangerous elements that have survived the war.

Not only Germany and Austria are infested with rehabilitated Nazis. Former fascists and collaborators are appearing everywhere in the Western European countries, laughing contemptuously at the impotence of their enemies. I could cite dozens of anti-fascist newspapermen who after fighting in the Resistance in France, Belgium, and Italy now find themselves out of a job, replaced by fellow-travelers of Hitler and Mussolini. Many capable civil servants who fought for liberation have either been dismissed or have seen collaborators promoted over their heads in the ministries and diplomatic services. It is one of the greatest swindles of history to present Europe as having been saved for democracy. If the former fascists and their apologists lost the war, they have won the peace. Today the right is triumphant everywhere. Even in Monaco the right came to power in the last elections, assuring the tranquillity of the tourists who will try their luck next summer at the roulette wheels of Monte Carlo.

In Great Britain the Labor Party may win the coming elections, though if it does it will be by a reduced majority. One must hope it will win; a Labor defeat would have most serious consequences not only in Britain but for the Socialist movement as a whole. But it cannot be said that a Labor victory will seriously disturb the right wing on the Continent. The Bevin government's attitude on such controversial issues as Greece, Spain, and Germany has convinced European reactionaries that they have little to fear from the British Socialists.

WITH despair the left realizes that it has no voice even in the question of most absorbing interest to all Europe—how to maintain the peace. "The Europe planned for us," writes Marcel Gimont in *Combat*, "is not only a German Europe, bearing the label of big business and the profit system, with Franco Spain thrown in, but a Europe that in the end is to be left to contain the aggressors by itself." The Atlantic Pact, in the eyes of many left Europeans, is rapidly losing whatever practical value it at first appeared to have.

The news of the hydrogen bomb is played up in the headlines of the sensational afternoon papers and in cheap, noisy weeklies like the Paris *Samedi Soir*, but the intelligent European pays more attention to the analyses of Walter Lippmann, most widely quoted American writer on international affairs. "The policy of containment," Mr. Lippmann warns, "is based on premises which are now demonstrably fallacious—that a virtual blockade of the Soviet orbit will strangle communism and reduce its military potential. During the blockade of the Soviet orbit communism has expanded all over China." Thinking along parallel lines, many European observers fear that the policy of "containment" may some day bring about a clash with the Soviet Union. Their own weak armies will then have to sustain the shock of the Red Army's assault until the hydrogen bomb—or even the old-fashioned atomic bomb!—is dropped on the Russians, and presumably on the Western Europeans as well, since no one imagines the Red Army can actually be held back at the edge of the Iron Curtain. If there were no alternative, Europeans would probably accept this fate as one accepts death in any other form. They feel, however, that many possibilities of resolving East-West differences have been left unexplored, and they constantly demand that Russia be given an opportunity to show whether or not it would be receptive to the idea of a world trade conference, or would welcome a decision by the United States in favor of unrestricted trade between East and West, or would agree to a conference aimed at developing a modified plan for outlawing and controlling weapons of mass destruction.

This, then, is the state of mind and the political and economic condition of Europe as 1950 begins. It is on this ground that the dispersed and defeated forces of the left must mobilize for a return to power, if a return is attempted. In next week's issue I shall discuss the basis on which this action could be carried out.

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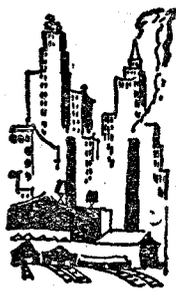

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Truman's Tax Lever

CONSTITUTIONALLY, responsibility for providing the national revenue rests with the Congress; so President Truman was observing the proprieties when on January 23 he couched his recommendation for tax changes in rather general terms. However, he reminded the legislators that although the President was not charged with the task of writing tax bills he had the power to veto them. Urging remission or reduction of some of the war-time excises—he mentioned as particularly burdensome those on transportation and communications and the retail levies on toilet preparations, luggage, and handbags—Mr. Truman stated bluntly that he could not approve such cuts unless Congress provided an equal amount of new revenue.

It was this warning that led one Republican Congressman to accuse him of "attempting to crack the whip as no other President has done in our history." And while that charge may be dismissed as normal political hyperbole, it is easy to understand the annoyance of G. O. P. legislators and of not a few Democrats. For Mr. Truman is trying to use the leverage provided by a strong public demand for repeal of the excises to obtain the elimination of a number of long-standing inequities and abuses in the tax laws. No doubt he remembers Roosevelt's many and fruitless attempts to persuade Congress to take similar action.

In drawing the unwilling attention of Congress to these abuses Mr. Truman emphasized the special treatment given to oil and mining businesses, which are permitted "depletion" allowances enabling them to exclude from taxable income 50 per cent of net earnings or 27½ per cent of gross, whichever is the less. Because these industries depend on wasting assets of uncertain life, it is reasonable to allow them to amortize their investments more rapidly than manufacturing concerns. But it is difficult to see why depletion allowances should be continued year after year once the original investment has been recovered. It is still more difficult to excuse the fact that such depletion deductions can be set against income from extraneous sources. Thus a man earning, say, $500,000 in Hollywood can indulge in "wild-cat" oil ventures at the expense of the Treasury. If he drills a dry well, the whole cost can be written off in less than four years out of his other income and most of the loss made up by tax savings; if he makes a strike, his profits will be taxed at much less than the full rate as long as the oil flows. As the President said, "This is a shocking example of how present tax loopholes permit a few to gain enormous wealth without paying their fair share of taxes." It is also, unfortunately, the least likely of the inequities he discussed to be ended by Congress. The oil and mining lobbies are both so powerful that few if any of the House Democrats from such states as Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma can be depended on to follow the President on this issue. Thus it will take very great pressure indeed from consumers who pay excises and business men whose trade is hit by them to put through a "one-package tax bill" of the kind the President has asked for.

In his Budget Message on January 9 Mr. Truman indicated he was not prepared to cut spending drastically in order to avoid a deficit. His tax message shows that he is unwilling to seek a balance by large increases in taxes, even though he once more condemned the "shortsighted" action of the Eightieth Congress in reducing revenues over his veto. Is this position, as Senator Taft suggested, illogical? Should the President have asked for repeal of the 1948 tax law? Mr. Truman's reply seems to be based on a passage in the recently published Annual Review of the Council of Economic Advisers:

> We also feel that it was unfortunate that tax rates were reduced in 1948, and that if the higher rates had remained in effect they would not be such a burden that business recovery would not continue. But the tax rates were reduced, countless personal and business relationships are now based on the lower rates, and, if taxes were now raised sufficiently to attain an immediate budget balance, the process itself would involve disturbing maladjustments. The real question is this: To what extent may there be some increases at this stage of business recovery without impeding business progress enough to defeat the purpose of the tax program?

Following this line of thought, Mr. Truman has asked Congress to provide for a net increase of revenue amounting to one billion dollars. "A substantial part" of this sum, he said, should be found by revising estate and gift taxes, a proposal for which a very strong case can be made. As *Business Week* pointed out in a special report on February 1, 1947, "Estate and gift taxes have long been favored . . . by tax students because they reduce the incentives for risk-taking and enterprise less than most other levies. . . . The amount of revenue obtained from estate and gift taxes could be doubled without increasing estate-tax rates, which are already among the highest in the world, by closing loopholes and broadening the base."

Since those words were written, the loopholes have been enlarged, thanks to the Eightieth Congress, with the result that these taxes now produce less than 2 per cent of the internal revenue compared to 7 per cent ten years ago. The weaknesses in the present system, which, according to the President, "include excessive exemptions, unduly low effective rates on most estates, and the fact that the law as written favors large estates over small ones," would deserve attention even if the need for more federal revenue were less urgent.

Space forbids any discussion of Mr. Truman's other recommendation—a moderate increase in tax-rates on corporation incomes exceeding $50,000. Naturally business dislikes this proposal, although it welcomes the suggestion of an extended carry-forward of losses and a reduction in the so-called "notch-rate" on corporate income between $25,000 and $50,000. But any change in corporation taxes raises controversial issues which call for another article.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

GEORGE ORWELL'S NOVELS

BY IRVING HOWE

[*George Orwell died in London on January 21 at the age of forty-six. This review was written before the event.*]

IN AT least one sense George Orwell works within a major strand of English literary tradition. Like Defoe or Dickens before him, he assumes in his writing that there exists a social world external to and decisively impinging on our consciousness. Consequently he examines carefully social relations and status, for once he succeeds in showing "what happens" to his characters within the social world, the reader may be able to surmise what is also happening inside the characters. It need hardly be added that the dominant strategy of modern writing, whether for ontological or internal literary considerations, is quite different from the one Orwell employs.

I make these unoriginal observations merely to indicate why Orwell's three republished novels, "Down and Out in Paris and London" ($2.75), "Burmese Days" ($3), and "Coming Up for Air" ($3),* are not likely to receive the kind of reception they should in this country. The general public will not find in them the titillations of his recent political allegories, and serious readers may pass them by as "mere journalism" which does not satisfy the current taste for psychology, myth, or that hazy marsh known as "morality." Yet I wish to suggest that "Down and Out" and "Burmese Days" are Orwell's best works of fiction and deserve a larger readership than his more sensational books.

In his attitude Orwell is primarily a journalist, a term which in America is taken as a kind of depreciation, perhaps because we have so few good journalists. But Orwell is a first-rate journalist: he has a large gift for the observation of significant details, he is genuinely curious about people, and he is capable of making those limited generalizations of insight which, while not social theory, often tell us more about a given moment of experience than a theory can. His literary journalism is consequently acute in its exploration of the social crevices in which our mass culture festers, and his fictional journalism, such as "Down and Out," is both informative and informed with insight.

"Down and Out" is a modest piece of reportage, obviously autobiographical and a novel only by courtesy, which recounts Orwell's experience as a young intellectual, destitute in Paris and London. His approach to poverty is exactly right: he is serious enough to know it as an evil not to be expunged by chatter about "values," and yet he recalls his semi-starvation with wry skimming humor. Precisely because he takes poverty itself so seriously he avoids solemnity about his own suffering.

The Parisian part of "Down and Out" is written in a racy and supple prose which reminds one a bit of the breathless humor of Henry Miller's "Cosmodemonic Rigolade." (When hired as a *plongeur*—dishwasher—in a Parisian hotel, he is told, "We will give you a permanent job. . . . The head waiter says he would enjoy calling an Englishman names.") Orwell has a rich sense of anecdote: he delights in the waiter who is a Communist while sober and a patriot while drunk, in the thirty-nine times he was cursed as a *maquereau* during one tour of hotel duty, in the parabolic Saturday-night excitement of his favorite Parisian bistro. With a charming kind of donnish precision, he notes the exact social gradations of hotel life, the utter uselessness of the luxury which forces the *plongeur* to be a slave, the instinctive way women have of drawing back from a badly dressed man "with a quite frank movement of disgust, as though he were a dead cat."

The second half of the book, a very careful analysis of English flophouse life, is more somber but if anything more interesting, since we know so much less about the English *Lumpenproletariat*. The particular virtues of this part of the book are the nicety with which it distinguishes the kinds of humiliation to which the indigent are subjected and the sustained and apparently effortless way in which Orwell avoids the slightest condescension in writing about them. Perhaps the best bit in the book is Orwell's description of Bozo, a "screever" (sidewalk cartoonist) with a vivid mind, a gift for rich speech, and a taste for the classics.

"Down and Out" is superior to anything of its kind written in America, and should be read by at least those people who think poverty a more significant problem than, say, original sin.

Written in a blunt, rather dulled prose, "Burmese Days" tends to be simplistic about human character and to whine about the "stifling, stultifying world" of heat, prejudice, and deadly stupid women which is British colonialism. But it does create that world with an authenticity and sureness of detail which is possible only to someone who, like Orwell, has seen it from the inside. During his younger days Orwell worked in the Burmese police force for a few years, and seems to have reached the conclusion not merely that British imperialism was evil, as E. M. Forster discovered in his visit to India, but that its representatives were mercilessly stupid.

Stupidity and cant, however, are more difficult materials for a novel than social evil. "Burmese Days" is relentlessly honest in its portraits of the vicious whites, the cringing Indian doctor who wishes only to humiliate himself before the whites, the English girl of bohemian background who discovers a natural gift for playing "burra memsahib," and the one decent white man who loves the natives but is too weak to break from his fellows. Yet the book never approaches the moral and imaginative grandeur of "A Passage to India," for Orwell is incapable of the romantic intoxication with the East

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which gives "A Passage to India" so much of its loveliness, nor has he found any characters as dramatically elevated and representative as Mrs. Moore and Aziz. The mere fact, however, that one thinks to compare Orwell's novel with Forster's masterpiece is evidence that it is a compelling book, one of the few novels arising from the political ferment of the 1930's that are likely to survive their milieu.

"Coming Up for Air," written just before the war, I find rather trivial. It is the story of an English insurance agent who, with the winnings of a bet, leaves his ugly London suburb and ugly middle-class family to visit the town of his youth. The result is completely predictable: Lower Binfield is now as mechanized as London, all the landmarks of his youth have been violated, etc., etc. The book has a few neat vignettes of middle-class life, but nothing that a good many contemporary English novelists have not done better.

In America Orwell seems to be valued most as a political bogyman pointing to the terrors of the future. But his allegories are thoroughly static, a mere conjured vision of evil in which no serious attempt is made to seek underlying causes. Orwell is not really a political prophet or even a very acute political thinker: he banks too heavily on British common sense, which after a point comes to seem mere self-indulgence. Nor does he have the creativity of the true novelist. To my taste, the best of Orwell is in the splendid essays on mass culture and the finely sensitive reporting of "Homage to Catalonia" and "Down and Out."

A Rich Life

CHALLENGING YEARS. The Autobiography of Stephen Wise. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $4.

THERE is an indefinable power in some men which so transcends their shortcomings as to pull us along with them in spite of annoyances and even misgivings. Sometimes we call it the force of personality, which is only another way of saying we do not know how to define it. Whatever it is, it is the stuff of leadership. It was of such stuff that Stephen Wise was made.

For four decades, from the pulpit of the Free Synagogue which he founded, Rabbi Wise voiced his views on religion and politics, freedom and fascism, labor and civic affairs, Judaism and Zionism. It was a powerful voice, not merely in being eloquent, but in somehow compelling all kinds of people to listen to it, and moving them to action.

The present volume, an expression of the high points of these years, is subtitled an autobiography, but this is misleading. It is rather a series of reminiscences, touching on certain key figures and events and centering on the author's relation to them.

His was a rich life, both in contributions and recognition. It was also a unified life, bound together more than one had realized by the Zionist cause. The dream of the reestablishment of a homeland for the Jewish people is there from the earliest years—not just a homeland, but *the* homeland—and its realization in the state of Israel fills his cup to overflowing. From Herzl's day to the present, many have labored in the vineyard of this cause. Side by side with them were numbers of other Jews who viewed the idea of a separate Jewish state among the nations as they viewed segregation within a nation, with distaste if not loathing. Those who held this view have now been by-passed by history; no wonder Rabbi Wise felt both satisfaction and vindication.

While still a young rabbi in Oregon, he received a call to Temple Emanu-el in New York, the greatest of America's Reformed Jewish congregations. Learning that the pulpit was subject to the control of the board of trustees, he refused the offer. His lengthy letter of refusal and explanation, reprinted here in full, is a truly magnificent statement of freedom of conscience and of the religious responsibilities of the ministry. Shortly thereafter he returned to New York to establish the Free Synagogue.

In the ensuing years he led many movements and had his fingers in many pies. His leadership in the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress was a militant one, and if in the course of it good people opposed him, sometimes bitterly, he was often enough on the side of the angels to make his contribution a noteworthy one. His founding of the Jewish Institute of Religion for the training of rabbis and the furtherance of Jewish scholarship,

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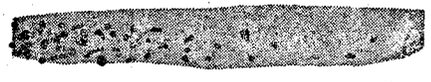

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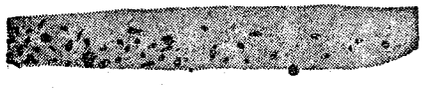

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which he lived to see joined with the Hebrew Union College, was an effort to overcome sectarian divisiveness while respecting differences within Judaism, and it may have more important effects than his other rabbinical work.

He was a man with many friends, including Presidents and justices of the Supreme Court. If he preens his own ego in recollecting these associations, as he writes too egocentrically of some of the movements with which he was identified, we have to remember that while humility is a virtue, the lack of it in his case at least could not detract from the virtues he did possess. His chapters on Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt throw no new light on either of them, but he writes deeply moving tributes to Justices Cardozo and Brandeis. Scattered through the book are generous statements about other old friends, chief among them John Haynes Holmes.

Today there is widespread pressure on people of all kinds of religious background to return to their traditions. Stephen Wise was one of those who pressed hardest in this respect among Jews. Yet Jewish origin is by no means the same thing as the Jewish religion, and despite his resistance to the idea, there are countless Jews as there are countless people with Christian roots who can maintain their integrity only by *not* identifying with the traditional religion. In part it is this that constitutes the chief challenge to the religious life of mankind.

It seems clear to some of us that the brotherhood of man will never be realized through sectarianism. Nevertheless, we have much to learn from some of those who till its soil. The rabbi is a teacher, and Stephen Wise's teachings transcended Judaism. That is why we can all appreciate his contributions to our common life.

JEROME NATHANSON

Bowra on the Romantics

THE ROMANTIC IMAGINATION. By C. M. Bowra. Harvard University Press. $4.50.

PROFESSOR BOWRA is strongest as a critic when he is dealing with individual works of poetry in a foreign language. Here his sensitiveness, his extraordinary linguistic gifts, and his skill as a translator combine to make of his explications a unique sort of literary guide—you feel that, short of learning to read the originals with Professor Bowra's aptitude, you have come as close as you possibly could come to the thought, style, poetic individuality of the figures he deals with, a Cafavy in Greek, say, or a Pasternak in Russian.

Necessarily this virtue is not apparent in a volume like "The Romantic Imagination," which is wholly concerned with poetry in English. Professor Bowra's aim is to isolate and delimit the particular quality of transcendental idealism central to the Romantic conception of the imagination and trace the various emphases given to it by the individual poets of the movement. One follows his exposition with a sense that much that is true and illuminating is being said, but also with an uneasy sense that the approach does not seem to be yielding the results it should, or is meant to, in the way of a fresh grasp of the Romantic achievement.

What does one make, for instance, of a sentence like this, in Professor Bowra's summing up? "In their vivid perception of sensible things the Romantics were able almost in the same moment to have a vision of another world, and this illuminates and gives significance to sensible things in such a way that we can hardly distinguish them from the mysteries which they have opened and with which they are inextricably connected." This gives one the feeling of a nail not quite being hit on the head, and in its larger aspects this is one's response to the book as a whole. All of which is to say that Professor Bowra is not at his best when synthesizing his insights into generalizations on trends or philosophies. Except for Keats, where his text is a single short poem, "The Ode on a Grecian Urn," intensively, and very illuminatingly, analyzed in regard to its meaning, one feels that the book is least successful with the central figures of the Romantic movement, and is best in the subsidiary points it makes—as when Professor Bowra puts the case for such neglected masterpieces as "The House of Life" or "Atalanta in Calydon," the poetic idiom of which is unsympathetic to the present generation; or when he points out the true Romantic excellence of Byron's landscapes in "Don Juan"

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or the genuine tenderness and depth of sentiment in Byron's handling of Julia's love for Juan. Of such perceptions there are more than enough to reward the reader. HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

Art

WELDON KEES

WILLIAM BAZIOTES, whose most recent paintings are being shown at the Kootz Gallery (through February 20), is usually referred to as a hybrid among American painters—half abstractionist, half surrealist; certainly he is one of the last full-blown romantics of a period in which such obsessive and loving personal allegiance to the fanciful and fantastic has almost disappeared. The nostalgia for romanticism, of course, is everywhere: Baziotes manages at one and the same time to express romanticism and to be wrenched by nostalgia for it. And though most of his contemporaries have deserted the "tangible" and "actual" for paintings that relate only to paint and canvas, Baziotes works, apparently, in a relatively calm acceptance of the world, however private his distortions and refinements of it. It is perhaps not so astonishing that his surrealist inclinations have kept him closer to "recognizable form" than his leanings toward the abstract. Without being in the least literary, his work is saturated with scene, situation, movement, atmosphere, weather. His shapes, which have always unashamedly called up associations with animals, rooms, the sky, the sea, have become steadily simpler, more isolated, lonely, and at rest. If they were permitted to announce but one reason for their presence, it would no doubt be, to give pleasure.

Built up in a series of thin and spotted washes, the best of Baziotes' paintings seem to create their own light, glowing in the pigment itself. The radiance has never been turned on more strikingly by this artist than in "The Mummy," a new grass-colored canvas in which a fungus-colored seal-like form contends with a sun that shares its tone, and with a small area of brilliant blue; and this is only one of a number of first-rate paintings. In some of the smaller canvases, where pigment has been applied too flatly, space seems insufficiently packed and the lights begin to dim. But what strikes one most about Baziotes at present is his remoteness from fashion and distraction; he is his own man, with the toughness, staying power, and self-sufficiency of all good artists.

Fritz Bultman's first full-fledged one-man show, at the Hugo Gallery (through February 18), brings to the foreground a young American painter who at once takes a place among the more significant advanced artists in this country. A perfectionist and a slow worker, Bultman has devoted almost four years to the fourteen canvases on view, and they are sufficient evidence of both insight and patience. Concerned with massive sculptural forms and employing few colors and relatively few basic shapes, Bultman has seemingly pared away every element that does not contribute to austerity and elegance. The show would be even better if it included his "Maize Man," which was hung in the last American Abstract Artists' exhibition and was the best painting in that show. I cannot agree at all, however, with Donald Windham, who writes the catalogue note for Bultman's exhibit, in his attempt to relate these paintings to religiosity, or more particularly to Christian symbolism. "They are true to their medium and wholly satisfying for their plastic values," Windham writes, "but they are also yantras for the contemporary Occident." This desire to insist on what is far from apparent, combined with the implied discontent with painting *qua* painting, is irrelevant to Bultman's work and, indeed, limits its significance.

The most noteworthy and pervasive development in American painting in recent years has been the trend toward the "decentralized" or "all-over" painting, in which all elements of the surface have meshed or melted into one another, with no one permitted to proclaim its individual importance or its separation from the total pattern. The individual shape is trapped in an enormous machine and becomes part of it. Those who practice this method and their followers have made elaborate claims for its superiority over all past styles, though not too convincingly; and already in the brief course of its existence the school has displayed two kinds of approach—one the careful planning of effects and the other the exploitation of spontaneity and accident. Melville Price, now holding his second one-man show at the Peridot Gallery (through February 25), is one of the most ambitious and important of those who adhere to the first course. Influ-

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enced to a degree by Willem de Kooning, a painter whose lack of orthodoxy and adventurous interest in form keeps him rather on the periphery of all schools, Price develops his immensely complex and thoughtfully worked-out canvases with imprisoned shapes that lock and interlock without repose or relief. There is not much painting that affords the onlooker so little rest as Price's; Matisse might be his chief villain. I am curious what the response will be to these canvases, with their calculated "ugly" color and tormented motion. In comparison, several of the leading exponents of this school seem to derive their inspiration from Viennese waltzes or Morris chairs.

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Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

MICHAEL BENTHALL, of the Old Vic and Stratford upon Avon, has conceived and directed the Theater Guild production of "As You Like It" (Cort Theater) in the spirit it calls for, the delicate, fresh, and vital spirit of "springtime, the only pretty ringtime." But he has had to contend, or one gets that impression, with a wealthy and slightly pompous American patron who, out of a desire to give him everything he wants, has given him more than he needs: the settings are too elaborate, some of the costumes are too much like "creations," and in the last scene the Forest of Arden is decked with so many gorgeous blooms that it takes on the look of a fancy florist's shop. In addition, Mr. Benthall has had the task of assimilating into Shakespeare's idyl an actress, Katharine Hepburn, who is so definitely "typed" that I, for one, had strong doubts, in advance, that I could be persuaded to believe for one moment that she was Rosalind—or vice versa.

My doubts were justified. Most of the time Miss Hepburn is the tense, modern, self-conscious, rather spoiled young woman, speaking in a tremolo-ridden voice under some quite unmotivated strain; in only one scene, really, does she manage to relax and to lose herself in the lovely part she is playing. But the rest of the cast is excellent, with one or two exceptions; and Mr. Benthall's handling of the play is basically so right that the fancy trimmings and Miss Hepburn's self-assertions can be overlooked. See it.

The gaiety and wit of Bernard Shaw's "The Devil's Disciple" (City Center) are beautifully set off by the taste and simplicity of Margaret Webster's production. What's more, the piece is extremely well acted. Dennis King's General Burgoyne is particularly delightful, and it seemed to me that Maurice Evans as Dick Dudgeon gave his best performance since "Richard II."

"The Enchanted" (Lyceum Theater) did not enchant me. Indeed, it struck me as French sentimentality at its worst, which is harder to bear than American sentimentality at its worst.

I can only assume from "The Happy Time" (Plymouth Theater) that French Canadian sentimentality is even more revolting. This number, which Messrs. Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein 2d have seen fit to sponsor and support, is not only sentimental but vulgar and pretentious.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THERE is an accumulation of opera recordings to comment on; and I will deal first with the LP's. Outstanding among these are the ever-amazing Sleepwalking Scene from Verdi's "Macbeth" and the *O don fatale* from "Don Carlos" on a Columbia 7-incher (3-384), and *Bel raggio* from "Semiramide" on another (3-400), all sung by Elena Nikolaidi, contralto, with the Columbia Symphony under Cleva. I am accustomed to a slower pace which makes the beginning of the "Macbeth" piece more powerful; but the loss is made up by the power of Nikolaidi's voice and style and dramatic intensity, which also produce magnificent performances of the other arias.

Such 7-inch records are the right ones for such small pieces; and the 10-inch and 12-inch LP's are right for long works—which is to say that they are wrong for assemblages of small pieces by different composers on different levels of style and value, and in particular for the groups of arias issued by Columbia and London, concerning which I can report as follows: Giuseppe Valdengo, the superb baritone who has sung in Toscanini's broadcasts of "Otello" and "Aida," is excellent in *Pari siami* and *Cortigiani, vil razza* from "Rigoletto," with veiled-sounding accompaniments by

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the New Symphony under Erede (London LPS-115, with arias from "Pagliacci," "Faust," and "Hamlet"). Dusan Georgevic, previously unknown to me, uses a beautiful tenor voice with extraordinary delicacy and sensitiveness in *De' miei bollenti spiriti* from "La Traviata" and *Una furtiva lagrima* from "L'Elisir d'Amore," with rather dim accompaniments by L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande under Erede (London LPS-79, with arias from "Pagliacci," "Cavalleria Rusticana," "Sadko," and "Manon"; noisy surfaces). Renata Tebaldi, also previously unknown to me, reveals a fresh and lovely soprano voice, with only slight tremolo and shrillness occasionally, in *Ritorna vincitor* from "Aida," the King of Thule and Jewel Songs from "Faust" (in Italian), and *Tacea la notte* from "Il Trovatore," with veiled-sounding accompaniments by the same orchestra and conductor (London LLP-142, with arias from "Madame Butterfly" and "Tosca"). Richard Tucker uses with excellent musical taste a fine tenor voice (though it has lost its original warmth and luster) in *Questa o quella, La donna è mobile,* and *Parmi veder le lagrime* from "Rigoletto," *Celeste Aida,* and *O tu che in seno* from "La Forza del Destino," with orchestras under Cleva, Cooper, and Pelletier (Columbia ML-4248, with arias from "Pagliacci," "Cavalleria," "Martha," "La Juive," and "The Pearl Fishers"). Eugene Conley uses a rich tenor voice with tremulousness of tone and phrasing in the Flower Song from "Carmen" and *Spirito gentil* from "La Favorita," and with spinning out of sustained notes into falsetto in arias from "Rigoletto" (London LLP-26, with arias from "Martha," "Faust," "La Boheme," "Tosca," and "Turandot"; crackling surfaces). And Lily Pons sings with her monotonously unvarying crystalline quality of tone, her ha-ha-ha-ing, her occasional strong tremolo and sagging pitch in *Caro nome* and *Tutte le feste* from "Rigoletto," and arias from "I Puritani," "La Sonnambula," "Linda di Chamounix," and "Mignon" (Columbia ML-2084).

Capitol's LP dubbing from a Telefunken recording of the final scene from "Salome" (L-8036) offers the tremolo-ridden singing of Liselotte Enck and playing by the Berlin State Orchestra under Heger that is unimpressively reproduced.

From Cetra-Soria there is an LP dubbing (LP-1204, 3 12″) of the old Parlophone recording of Bellini's "Norma" that was available here for a time on American Decca records. Cigna and Breviario are no better this time; and one discovers that even in earlier days Stignani could produce sounds as ravishing as those in *Mira, o Norma* and others as tremolo-ridden as those in *Sgombra è la sacra selva.* The performance conducted by Gui is without stylistic force; its recorded sound is acceptable; surfaces crackle; the complete Italian text is given.

Of its own 78 r.p.m. recording of "La Forza del Destino" Cetra-Soria gives us an LP dubbing of as much as could be fitted onto two records (LP-1201)—which includes most of the well-known arias and duets, but omits a shocking amount of the opera. Marinuzzi conducts another slack performance in which there is good singing by Caniglia, Masini, Pasero, and Tagliabue, but Stignani's singing is all tremolo. The recorded sound is good; but surfaces are not quiet; and not all the Italian text of what is sung is provided.

And Cetra-Soria also has issued an LP dubbing (LP-1206, 3 12″) of a recording of Puccini's "Turandot," which I listened to out of curiosity about a work of Puccini I had never heard and had been assured was much superior to the earlier works that I consider trash. Listening, I noted the greater sophistication, the pretty music for the rising moon and Ping's *Ho una casa nell'Honan,* but also the characteristic tear-jerking melodic style, as in Liu's last aria, the labored invention even in this melodic style, as in Liu's first aria and Calaf's *Non piangere,* the sterility of Turandot's first aria, the feebleness of the riddle scene. Ghione conducts what seems to be an effective performance; the soprano voices of Cigna and Magda Olivero are not pleasant to the ear, nor do I care for the tenor of Francesco Merli; but the baritone of Afro Poli and the bass of Lúciano Neroni are very beautiful. The recorded sound is good; but my copy has some wavering pitch and occasionally crackling surfaces.

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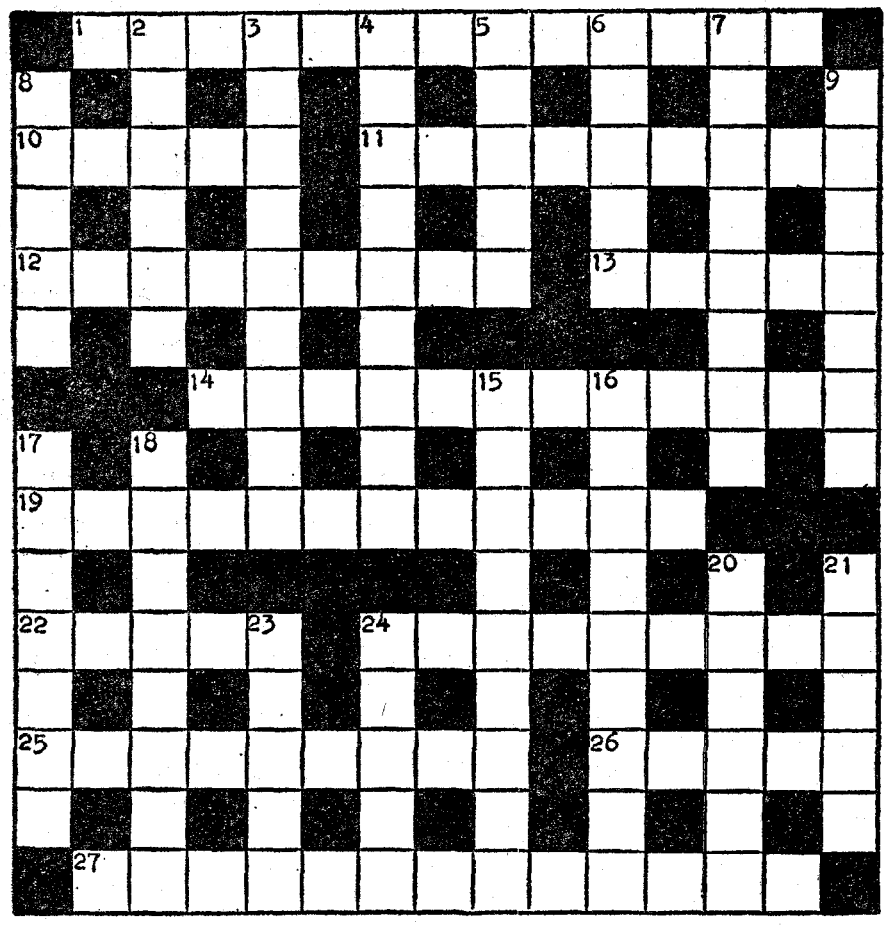
Crossword Puzzle No. 348

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 When it comes to a head, you might find it a fair sample. (13)
10 Clean, but not regular. (5)
11 Not old, but rather gory tunes. (9)
12 You might find one a canny sort of pest. (9)
13 Bucolic. (5)
14 See 24.
19 Future India Rubber Man? (8, 4)
22 26's, perhaps. (5)
24 Announces it's in favor of rights? (9)
25 This is out of sight. (3, 2, 4)
26 The corner of a broken backbone. (5)
27 Suggestion that we join the Quakers? (4, 2, 7)

DOWN

2 Thorough. (6)
3 Undeveloped little railway combine. (9)
4 See 18.
5 Horace's mountain scarce brings one. (5)
6 Large order at the bar. (5)
7 Starlet? (8)
8 Bone-wagon for the Academy? (5)
9 Sang a catch — and left a line out! (7)
15 Elaborate. (9)
16 Unclean B. A. upset. (9)
17 Leave an elastic belt on. (7)
18 and 4. Fire next when this. (3, 2, 3, 6–3)
20 Dice to make such things, perhaps. (6)
21 Like a quill or a tree. (5)
23 Valuable containers. (5)
24 and 14. Novel form of biased self-esteem. (5, 3, 9)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 347

ACROSS:—1 and 13 WHAT IS SO RARE AS A DAY IN JUNE; 9 RATCHET; 10 DODGERS; 11 OMELET; 12 SCARCELY; 14 REMODEL; 15 BASIC; 17 RESIGN; 19 YOUNGER; 21 DEFACING; 23 STAPLE; 25 PURLIEU; 26 ERLKING; 27 DOUBLE-ENTENDRE.

DOWN:—1 WARMONGER; 2 ANTBEAR; 3 ICHNEUMON; 4 SETS; 5 RIDICULOUS; 6 RIDER; 7 AGELESS; 8 ESPY; 15 BAGATELLE; 16 COLLEAGUE; 18 INFERNO; 20 REPLIED; 21 DIPS; 22 CLIMB; 24 PENN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

Letters to the Editors

Communist or Cow?

Dear Sirs: A fine example of the absurdities and injustices caused by our anti-Communist hysteria is the case of Dr. Edwin A. Elliot, chairman of the Regional Labor Board here. Doctor Elliot, in my book, is a weak-kneed liberal with a fair knowledge of economics and a deep sympathy for labor and the under-dog. A kind-hearted fellow, but afraid to express a real opinion. When someone filed a charge against him, the FBI ran around asking people if he were a Communist, when the average Texan would not know a Communist from a cow if he met him in the road. The average Texan thinks Truman is a Communist. The whole business would be silly and absurd if it were not so dangerous.

Can we learn nothing from the experience of other nations? We should know by now that communism grows out of unjust conditions and that the way to fight it is to eradicate the unjust conditions. People are so ignorant and stupid that I do not see how the Communists do as well as they do. I have been arguing with people for forty years, and I am disgusted.

J. HAYDEN MOORE, SR.
Midlothian, Tex., January 16

Dishonoring "Our Way"

Dear Sirs: Jerry Tallmer's comment on the Freedoms Foundation awards [Man Bites Dog, *The Nation*, December 24] interested me greatly because, before it had appeared and before I was aware of the type of backing Freedoms Foundation receives, I had already written to the New York *Times* and the New York Bar Association protesting against the cash awards granted by the foundation to Judge Harold R. Medina and to Jackie Robinson. I found it altogether strange that Governor Stassen, as chairman of the awards jury, and General Eisenhower, who actually presented the prizes, did not feel it improper to offer such payments to a highly respected judge for acts performed in fulfilment of his judicial duty and to an equally respected man who did nothing more than present to a Congressional committee testimony in keeping with his conscience and conviction. Nobody who pretends to "honor our way of life" should offer a judge or a wit-

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ness a reward for conscientious fulfilment of his duty, as one extends a "tip" in return for the agreeable service of a waiter, taxi driver, or porter.

WILHELM LEVINGER

New York, January 12

Wrong Paper

Dear Sirs: Mr. Tallmer described E. T. Leech as the editor of the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*. Please be advised that until his recent death Mr. Leech was editor of the Pittsburgh *Press*, a leader in the Scripps-Howard chain. In comparison with the *Press* and Hearst's Pittsburgh *Sun-Telegraph*, the *Post-Gazette* is a fairly liberal paper and as such the only bright spot in Pittsburgh's murky journalistic field.

JOHN M. GROVE

Pittsburgh, Pa., January 14

Medicine for China

Dear Sirs: A Friendship Cargo for China, for which we are collecting $25,000 worth of urgently required medical equipment and drugs, is scheduled to leave for Shanghai February 12. It is sponsored by China Welfare Appeal, Inc. The distributor in China will be the China Welfare Fund, which has functioned under the chairmanship of Mme Sun Yat-sen for eleven years.

A preliminary shipment of the cargo was dispatched last fall through the efforts of the Welfare Appeal's Los Angeles committee. It consisted of equipment for a pediatric hospital unit, which has already been installed at the International Peace Hospital in Tsinan, Shantung Province, under the direction of Dr. Arthur Chung, former Bellevue pediatrician, who accompanied the shipment to China. Supplies and equipment have also been dispatched from New York.

The International Peace Hospitals, consisting of eight main and forty-two branch hospitals with a total bed capacity of 11,800, grew from an original unit established in 1938 with the aid of the Canadian-American Medical Unit headed by Dr. Norman Bethune, Spanish civil-war hero.

Those of your readers who wish to support the resumption of medical assistance to China should send contributions, large or small, to Dr. Gerald I. Shapiro, Treasurer, China Welfare Appeal, 439 Fourth Avenue, New York 16. Receipts will be issued immediately. Reports on the arrival and allocation of supplies will be sent to all contributors as soon as available.

LEO M. DAVIDOFF, M.D.,
JOHN T. MCMANUS,
O. JOHN ROGGE

New York, January 20

[A selection of letters we have received on the dispute between Margaret Marshall and the Saturday Review of Literature *will appear next week. Lack of space has prevented earlier publication.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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